DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 126 369 CE 007 700

AUTHOR Tiedeman, David V., Ed.
TITLE Continuing the Development of Career: A Symposium.
PUB DATE [Mar 75]
NOTE 48p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adult Counseling; Adult Programs; *Adults; Anthologies; *Career Change; Career Education; Career Planning; Educational Theories; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); Females; Occupational Guidance; Sex Discrimination; *Symposia; Vocational Counseling; *Vocational Development

ABSTRACT

Following a brief introduction by the editor, four symposium papers are presented on continuing the development of career: "Career Development in Adults. Why do People 35 and Over Change Jobs?" Nancy K. Schlossberg; "Applying Vocational Theory to Adult Problems," John L. Holland; "Career Development of Adults: Why, When, Where, How," Elinor Waters; and "A Philogynous Proposal: Up With Women," Mary Lou Randour. Dr. Schlossberg discusses the causes of mid-life career changes emphasizing that they do not necessarily relate to job loss or the downgrading of opportunity. A framework is presented for understanding adult career development and planning career development programs. John L. Holland's paper summarizes his developmental and structural theories on vocations. Several suggestions are presented for the practice of vocational guidance in mid-life career development. Professor Waters describes a six session career development program for adults. The clientele, format, and course content are described. The final paper by Dr. Randour discusses sex discrimination problems and the needs of women in the world of work. A solution suggested in Dr. Randour's paper is the creation of a child service educational reward system based on the concept of the Veterans Administration educational benefits. (Author/BP)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED126369

CONTINUING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAREER:

A SYMPOSIUM

Edited by

David V. Tiedeman

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

CE 007 700

CONTINUING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAREER:

INTRODUCTION TO A SYMPOSIUM

David V. Tiedeman
ERIC Clearinghouse in Career Education
Northern Illinois University

Professor Nancy K. Schlossberg and I presently serve together on the Commission on Mid-Life Careers of the National Vocational Guidance Association. The charge of this Commission is to stimulate interest and study in the continuing development of career. Our Commission is pursuaded that careers never stop; only people stop careers. Careers are open phenomena; only life is an open phenomenon subject to close at some time. People can close the careers in their lives earlier or later. Our Commission is determined that this time be moved from its present early date to wished for later dates in life.

During 1973-74, our Commission determined that further effort should be directed to scholarship on continuation in the development of career. Professor Schlossberg therefore devised this symposium in partial satisfaction of that purpose.

The present symposium on continuation of development in career barely scratches the surface of this big topic. However, with such a vast topic, even surface scratches can have value if you have some idea of where you are scratching and why.

Professor Schlossberg opens this symposium by reprinting a paper she prepared for the American Vocational Journal. Her very succinct address of the career development of adults primarily examines the question "Why do people 35 and over change jobs?" Schlossberg proposes many causes of this phenomenon, but not all causes relate to the loss of job or the downgrading of opportunity. Instead, Schlossberg advances the optimistic position that

career change is a constant stimulated by healthy internal growth. What is needed which is not now in great supply is both consciousness and capacitation of the personal power to change career.

Professor John L. Holland next makes a succinct summary of vocational theory as he knows it. His distinction between developmental and structural theory in vocations gives him a handy springboard to advance the conviction that career can change in life, the change taking place within a structure encompassed by his theory. Holland then discusses the implications of his assumptions arriving at several suggestions for the practice of vocational guidance in mid-life career development which augur well for effective and far reaching service. He concludes with a plea for the further study of mid-life vocational behavior, a plea in which I wholeheartedly join as long as we recognize that well thought through ideas can have validity even though they are not behaviorally studied.

Professor Elinor Waters takes off from the why and when of adult career development advanced by Schlossberg and Holland, quickly disposes of the where by espousing the view that we counselors should be everywhere in easily available locations for adults, and spends the remaining part of her paper presenting a procedure whereby we counselors can actually help adults develop their careers further. Waters' procedure takes off from the self as location of career and empowers career constructionism in the self by advancing consciousness and capability in decision making. She defines the clientele with which she has worked, describes the context of the course in which she advances career constructionism, and sketches in the content of that course. Waters finds her clients to be well satisfied with the experiences she offers in her course.

Dr. Mary Lou Randour concludes the symposium with first an excursion into the facts that women need and want to work and haven't had too great opportunities to do so in satisfying ways, and then with a delightful philogynous

proposal; create a child service educational reward just as we have created war service educational rewards. Dr. Randour lends seriousness to her proposal of a Child Bearing Veteran's Administration by offering estimates of its potential yearly cost and indicating how it might be both done and financed.

I have above somewhat mapped the surface which this symposium scratches--philosophy, theory, practice, and a pressing problem, namely the severe career needs of adult women. The NVGA Commission on Mid-Life Careers trusts that the interest of NVGA members and friends may be sufficiently whetted by this first of its excursions into a program to continue career development that some volunteers will step forward to carry on this interesting and socially highly important work. Professor Arthur Hitchcock, State University of New York, Albany, New York 12203, chairs this Commission.

Career Development in Adults

Why do people 35 and over change jobs?

by Nancy K. Schlossberg

Without question, work is of crucial importance in the lives of most adults—as those who suddenly find themselves unemployed know only too well. But simply being employed does not ensure fulfillment, either. People frequently find themselves growing discontent with their jobs.

Assembly-line boredom and "blue-collar blues" are matters of concern to employers and sociologists alike. Women's centers have sprung up on more than 400 college and university campuses in response to the needs and demands of women who feel trapped as housewives or as clerical workers. Moreover, dissatisfaction and a desire for change are not limited to those working at low-level or repetitious tasks.

It is possible, also, that too much emphasis has been placed on negative factors that influence career change. The Merrill Palmer Conference on Adult Development at Wayne State University in 1965 brought to light cases of career change motivated by self-discovery, challenge, and determination: an insurance salesman turned school administrator; a bus driver taking undergraduate courses in sociology.

In studying adults who change careers after age 35, Hiestand concluded that middle age is a period of increased options and continued development. People change direction not because they are forced to or have failed at their jobs, but because of widening interests and heightened self-awareness. In a study of men 35 or older who were enrolled as undergraduates, this writer found that adult males were changing careers because of emerging interests and needs, not simply out of fear and desperation.

Career Change: A Constant

Studies of adult career change are few and usually limited in scope and size of sample. Among the handful are Bingham's study of teachers in the process of becoming counselors, Mill's study of ministers leaving the ministry, Roe and Baruch's research on men and women in the Boston area, and the author's study of adult men enrolled as undergraduates.

The paucity of empirical research on the subject might suggest that career change is rare, that only persons of extraordinary strength and determination can get out of a job they dislike and into one they find satisfying. Yet it is literally true that career change is a constant in adulthood. Every human being constantly makes changes, even when remaining in the same job. Of course, the degree of change is often slight.

Using Holland's occupational classification scheme which differentiates occupations by area of interest and by level of educational development, one finds, for example, that a move from bus driver to sociologist represents a sizeable change in both basic interest area and education level, whereas a move from parking lot attendant to dry cleaner represents a miniscule change to a different interest area and somewhat higher educational level. The point is that both of these moves do represent change, and the person who makes them is also changing activities, coworkers, and self-definition.

Super's three-dimensional classification system provides another framework for examining change. In this system, occupations are classified according to field of activity, level, and enterprise. Level reflects in part the degree of training or education required, and enterprise is the setting in which the work takes place. A counselor, for example, might work in a high school, hospital or private employment agency.

Super defines change as any movement from one slot to another. It would be possible for an employee to move from one level to another, up or down, and still remain in the same enterprise in the same field, or move from one interest field to another and still remain in the same enter-

prise at the same level. Or the employee could move from one enterprise to another and stay in the same field and at the same level. All of these changes bring the worker into new situations requiring new self-assessments.

Regardless of which classification system is used, Super's or Holland's, the notion of degrees of change can be more realistically applied to adults than the notion of abrupt and radical change. Although radical change is more dramatic, small changes are far more common, and from the point of view of the adults who experience them, dramatic enough.

Indeed, even if one stays at the same level in the same job for a lifetime, there is still a sense in which one undergoes change. In his study of managers and technical specialists, Soffer pointed out that careers are age-graded, and that a person who does not move upward while peers are doing so, experiences "career disappointment."

The pain of such disturbance is twofold: It is painful "to discover that one is not going to have the role which one has rehearsed," and it is painful to lose face with one's colleagues. Even if one's job does not change, one's self-concept does.

Vocational Maturity Is Ageless

In the past it was taken for granted that one chose a career early in life—usually at the point of graduation from high school—and was then locked into that choice for good. As a result of this kind of thinking, most vocational theorists have focused on school-age children and adolescents. Consequently, career development of adults has been overlooked.

Recently we have come to recognize that middle age is not necessarily limited to maintaining one's achieved position, nor is it the "beginning of death in life." For many people it may be the time for a concept built on years of personal change to emerge. Yet we still do not have a firm theoretical base for looking at career development in adults. Nor is there much empirical data on which to base such a theory.

One exception is the work of David Sheppard, who developed an Adult Vocational Maturity Inventory based on Crites' concept of vocational maturity. After administering the Inventory to 200 adult males, Sheppard concluded that "in any large heterogeneous sample of adults, there are individuals who represent all levels of the maturity continuum."

Vocational maturity is a relevant construct for understanding adult career development in that it encompasses several processes relating to vocational life, not just the work activity itself. The mature person, whether 10, 20, or 50 years of age, is one who is involved in the choice process, able to make appropriate decisions by first considering expanded alternatives, then narrowing down the options.

The point is that vocationally mature persons are open to continuous change—in self and in situation—and are in control of their vocational destinies. That such control is rare was dramatically revealed by Anne Roe and Rhoda Baruch in their study of adults who changed jobs. Their most striking finding was that the adults studied did not feel in control of their careers. They attributed their work changes to chance, rather than to planning such as organizing and interpreting relevant career information.

The construct of vocational maturity helps to judge an individual's sense of what Rotter calls "locus of control." It is hypothesized that the more individuals feel self-directed, the more vocationally mature they are. The goal of adult guidance might be to intervene in ways that stimulate involvement, orientation, and independence in career decision-making, and thus put adults more in control of their destinies.

Meaning of the Congruence Model

Theories about the determinants of occupational choice, vocational maturity, and career satisfaction are many and varied, ranging all the way from the psychoanalytic to the sociological, and varying in their emphasis on such factors as family background, peers, interveners, and options. One dominant theme in most theories is congruence.

In *Marriage and Work in America*, Veroff and Feld write: "The major principle that has guided our work is: to the extent there is congruence between the strength of a motive and the possibilities for the motive to be gratified in the role, there will be satisfaction and ease in role performance, and to the extent there is poor meshing there will be problems in the way individuals react to the role."

The notion of congruence is not original with Veroff and Feld. Pace and Stern in

their initial studies of the impact of college on students, applied the concept to students and their college environment. For example, if a student with a strong need for orderliness is enrolled in a college with a highly structured environment, the result is congruence of "need and press." But if this same student were enrolled in a college with a permissive environment that emphasized independent study and self-direction, the result would be dissonance. Dissonance is defined as "an unstable needs-press combination."

John Holland's theory of vocational development, which is based on this model, has some applications for counseling adults. Although his initial classification scheme was derived exclusively from research on college students, the latest revision is based on a more heterogeneous sample, including employed adults.

Holland classifies the world of work into six major subgroups: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional. He has refined this scheme by devising a system of classifying individuals according to the same six subgroups. By completing the Self-Directed Search—a relatively simple instrument designed to assess occupational interests—adults and students can match their personal orientation with specific occupations listed in the Occupations Finder, published by Holland and Nichols in 1972.

As Holland notes, this scheme permits explicit definition of the degree of conflict which people may be undergoing. For example, students with a personality orientation of "realistic" would experience little conflict if they decided to go into engineering or farming, both of which are classified as realistic. They might encounter some difficulty, however, if they chose to major in chemistry, which is investigative, or law, which is enterprising.

Why is one person's code incongruent with his or her coded career or college major while another's is not? What makes for this mismatching? Several answers are suggested.

First, people may make inappropriate initial choice because they lack self-knowledge or because they do not have adequate information about occupations. Many high school and college students are talked into certain career choices by parents, teachers, or friends. Many low-income people enter the first training program or take the first job that comes along, and many women accept conventional assumptions about their capabilities and "proper place," and thus limit their choices to supposedly feminine occupations. In short, many people simply are not in control of their occupational destinies.

Second, one's personal life or experience may render an initially congruent career choice incongruent. Mills points out that the norms of a specific occupation often make unanticipated demands that an individual cannot meet. For example, harmonious marriage is an occupational norm for ministers, but not for lawyers or dentists. A minister whose marriage is failing may find it too uncomfortable to remain in the ministry. It is not always possible to predict how one's personal life will affect one's career.

Third, interests may change over time. According to Holland, a person is not necessarily locked into a particular personality classification. Both individual needs and environmental options can and do change along with age, family status, and other factors. Thus, an initially congruent career choice may become incongruent. One of the strengths of the congruence model is that it allows for such change rather than just attempting to predict it.

Holland does not assume linear and sequential career development: preparation for a field, entrance into it, achievement, and retirement from it. Instead he conceives of a person's life as a series of coded choices that can be studied for their patterns, stability, and mathematical relationships. His model assumes neither stability nor change in adult career development. It explains why change occurs—why some people feel satisfied with their jobs while others are discontent and motivated to change.

It should be pointed out that the congruence model has limitations when applied to women. Holland's occupational classification system has been criticized on the grounds that it is based too heavily on yesterday's world, when women were severely restricted in their choices.

Putting It All Together

Because vocational development theorists have concentrated on pre-adolescence and adolescence, and have neglected adulthood—particularly middle age—we are left with a vacuum in career counseling for adults. A beginning must be

made. The following points represent a start toward a framework for understanding career development in adults and planning career development programs for them.

- The concept of vocational maturity is not necessarily related to chronological maturity, but can be applied to every age group. The vocationally mature person is one who is actively involved in the choice process and in his or her vocational destiny. As a person's situation and self-concept changes and develops, new vocational decisions may be required. The process of exploration, involvement, and orientation are recurrent and continuous throughout life.
- Change of some sort—slight or drastic, voluntary or involuntary—is characteristic of all careers, and all career changes introduce people to new situations requiring new self-assessments.
- The most useful construct for understanding career development and job satisfaction is that of congruence, as defined by Veroff and Feld, and Holland. The congruence model can serve as a guide for intervention. Dissatisfaction or dissonance with one's work environment is not vague, but concrete. It can be specifically defined. As adults discuss their problems with counselors, both can begin to pinpoint the causes of dissonance. This clarification can be the first step in exploring new career options, formulating new goals, and finding the means to implement those goals.
- The concerns of adults will push us to devise a career development delivery system for adults through community-based settings, in which community-based counselors will act as educational brokers between adults and community resources.
- Educators, and particularly vocational educators, should become facilitators of adult development and lead the way for promoting growth-expanding activities. The implications for counseling, testing, and education are tremendous. We can begin by helping children dream in elementary school. We can continue stimulating dreams through adulthood by making flexible entry and exit a part of existing training programs. People can have several opportunities to test out the kind of persons they are, the kind of life they want to lead. The concept of a second career opens the door for continued possibilities. □

References

Bingham, W. "Change of Occupations as a Function of the Regency of Occupational Self-Concepts." (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1966.

Hiestand, D. L. *Changing Careers After 35*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1971.

Holland, J. L. *The Self-Directed Search*. Palo Alto, California: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1970.

Holland, J. L. *Making Vocational Choices*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973.

Holland J. L. and Nichols, R. C. "A Longitudinal Study of Change in Major Fields of Study." *College and Student*. (Edited by Kenneth Feldman.) Elmsford, N.Y.: Pergamon Press, 1972.

Mills, E. W., Jr. *Career Change Among Ministers: A Sociopsychological Study*. Harvard Studies in Career Development, No. 46. Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Research in Careers, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, May 1966.

Roe, A. and Baruch, R. *Factors Influencing Career Decisions: A Pilot Study*. Harvard Studies in Career Development, No. 32. Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Research in Careers, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, 1964.

Rotter, J. B. "Generalized Expectancies for Internal Versus External Control of Reinforcement" *Psychological Monographs*, 1966, (Vol II) Whole #609.

Schlossberg, N. K. "Adult Men: Education or Re-Education." *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, 1970.

Schlossberg, N. K. "Linking People and Resources: The Case for Community Based Guidance." *The Lifelong Learner: A New Clientele for Higher Education*. (Edited by Bermile Dyckman.) San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974.

Sheppard, D. I. "The Measurement of Vocational Maturity in Adults." *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 1971, 1, 399-406.

Soffer, C. *Men in Mid-Career: A Study of British Managers and Technical Specialists*. Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1970.

Stern, G. *People in Context: Measuring Person-Environment Congruence in Education and Industry*. New York, N.Y.: Wiley, 1970.

Super, D. *The Psychology of Careers*. New York, N.Y.: Harper, 1957.

Veroff, J. & Feld, S. *Marriage and Work in America: A Study of Motives and Roles*. New York, N.Y.: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1970.

APPLYING VOCATIONAL THEORY TO ADULT PROBLEMS

John L. Holland
Johns Hopkins University

In fifteen minutes, I will try to summarize the main implications of vocational theory and current knowledge to the career development of adults. My identification with a single point of view makes me an ideal person to provide a balanced overview. In addition, I believe I am the only test author to have been attacked by both men and women. (I am indebted to Dr. Campbell for this insight.) In short, it is important for you to remain alert and skeptical so that you will not be taken in by my opinions and interpretations about these controversial topics.

I will start with a brief overview of vocational theory, then I will offer some interpretations of the scientific evidence about careers, and last, I will indicate some implications of current theory and knowledge for adults.

Vocational Theory

Our understanding of careers has been increased by two main strategies for explaining careers. One strategy has been to study the process involved in making vocational decisions, especially the antecedents (planning, self knowledge, occupational information, work attitudes) that lead to good or bad decisions. This strategy of determining how an individual's personal development leads to related vocational behavior has strong general support. In principle, all human behavior is in part a function of earlier behavior. Consequently, it is eminently rational to prepare young people to make wise career decisions, to train people in decision-making, and to provide adults some of the same experience and training.

Unfortunately, the developmental strategy provides only vague guidance for dealing with adult vocational problems. Most of the research has concen-

trated on adolescents. Likewise, the assessment tools are also limited at present to youth.

The counselor needs to know what interventions introduced when will have what effects. As of now, we don't have this knowledge. Instead, the counselor must search through a large collection of hypotheses from life stage speculation, developmental psychology, and occupational sociology and make a good guess about a helpful approach. The development of special programs or treatments for adults must also rely on this largely untested collection of promising ideas.

A second strategy has been to organize or structure occupational and career data by means of occupational classification schemes and typologies. This strategy grew out of Parson's old guidance formula: analyze the person, analyze the job, match persons and jobs according to a person's capabilities and a job's demands. This matching formula in its old and new clothes has enjoyed a long history of empirical success. Classifications have been useful in demonstrating that most careers have a stable or orderly quality among college students and nationally representative samples of both young and older adults.

This strategy has produced most of our useful guidance devices (the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the Kuder Preference Record), and stimulated the development of numerous vocational aptitude tests and occupational classification schemes. The recent development of a simulation device to substitute for the typical vocational counseling experience is another illustration of the practical values inherent in the organizational strategy. The Self-Directed Search simulates the vocational counseling process with a pair of booklets. Without a well-worked out typology, the SDS would not have been possible. The ease with which other workers have used the structural strategy to imitate the SDS or to organize occupational materials is another vivid illustration of its practicality.

In general, the structural strategy is useful in career counseling because it provides tested methods and tools for organizing personal and environmental information in similar terms so that the user can gain greater control over his or her life. Likewise, structural schemes can be used to expand people's vocational alternatives and to organize developmental activities. Finally, because most decisions have a point of no return, structural or typological strategies provide a convenient and studied framework for making decisions. The alternatives are endless developmental activity or ad hoc theory construction for which the average person has neither the time nor the talent.

Unfortunately, the structural strategies lack satisfactory or tested explanations of how people grow up and select occupations or move from job to job over a lifetime.

To summarize, both the developmental and structured strategies are required to cope with the understanding of careers. In a sentence, one does a better job of organizing information about persons and occupations, and the other does a better job of outlining how people get there and what treatments might help.

Some Substantive Themes

The evidence about vocational life is truly voluminous. As an economical way to bring this information to bear on adult careers, it is helpful to recall some common interpretations or themes which have comprehensive and strong support in the literature.

1. People's aspirational and work histories are characterized by a continuity of purpose and intent.
2. A person's career is over-determined by multiple personal and situational characteristics.
3. People change jobs, despite a general stability of vocational behavior,

because neither people nor jobs are in a perfectly stable state. In short, people learn and change. Likewise, the institutions in which jobs are embedded grow, prosper, or decline. Thus some discrepancies between the person and the work environment are inevitable, and to some degree unpredictable. There are ten more of these general interpretations but these first three will allow me to illustrate how current knowledge has a direct bearing on the delivery of vocational assistance to adults.

Practical Implications

The interpretative themes imply that adults can profit from translation materials or vocational centers which emphasize such materials and strategies. Translation materials are materials which show people how their current assets (interests, aptitudes, competencies, self-conceptions) are related to special vocational opportunities. Interest inventories are translation devices. Counselors function as translation devices when they perform vocational assessments and give occupational information. Translation materials work well with adults, because large proportions are clear about who they are and because they can act on appropriate information about educational and occupational possibilities, if they can be given inexpensive and easy access to the necessary information.

The structural devices and typologies provide many tools and organizational plans for making translation materials practical. The evidence about the general stability of vocational behavior lends credence to the probable success of such an approach. Without a general stability of human goals, values, competencies and interests, the structured orientation would not work so well. In addition, the structuring properties of translation materials are often useful because they provide a clarifying structure for confused people.

The structural strategy is, of course, not enough. There are many adults who cannot make profitable use of structural materials, because they are confused about themselves, excessively dependent, uneducated, crippled by long periods of unemployment, or for other reasons. For these persons, developmental strategies are more appropriate.

If we had a good diagnostic scheme for identifying the most useful therapeutic or experiential assistance, the developmental strategy would be an economical and efficient approach. At this time, the counselor must spin a roulette wheel of hypotheses about middle-age crises, emptying the nest, aging,

sexual dysfunction, sex role socialization, long-term unemployment, non-existant career ladders, prejudice, etc. If you are looking for a second career, a clarification of some of these diagnostic and treatment hypotheses would be a bonanza for adults and their counselors. I would appreciate the elimination of some of these hypothetical problems. As a lifelong hypochondriac, just hearing about the problems I might or should have at my age is distressing.

At any rate, I am pessimistic about changing adults on a grand scale. I am optimistic about some promising instructional strategies to motivate and train adults to cope with vocational problems. Adkins, at Columbia, has developed a clear rationale for instructional experiences and materials to assist adolescents and adults in personal development, citizenship, and vocational decisions. His report (Adkins, 1970) should be required reading.

Although I take a dim view of systems experts, they occasionally speak English. For example, one said recently that the way to help a lot of people is to find some inexpensive, routine method or methods which help a large, not small, proportion of the population. Adkins' approach is a good illustration of this principle. This remark leads me to my last topic--the need to get organized.

Unfortunately, the vocational counseling of adults is like that for adolescents--incomplete, haphazard, and expensive. If we make a greater effort to get organized, we should be able to serve more adults. This effort should proceed in four ways: first, we must look at our local high school, college, or adult center to see whether or not the full range of translation services is provided, and if not, are services linked to other services so that there is a complete and efficient chain from "I was wondering what to do" to "You can get a job at this address." In short, the individual programs and services need to be assembled, missing pieces must be found or invented.

Second, we must begin to think in terms of providing levels of assistance rather than giving everyone the complete physical whether they need it or not. Everyone doesn't need everything. Recent reports by Nolan (1973) and Krivatsy (1975) indicate that so-called superficial help can be as useful as counselors for some purposes. Third, counselors and administrators need to engage in more orderly monitoring and evaluation of their services so that more effective service becomes routine. Fourth, the exchange of poems and anecdotes as exemplified by a few professional magazines is not a substitute for evaluation or research. We need to engage in more research about vocational behavior. That will give us better knowledge of what interventions, introduced when, will have what effects. When we can provide answers to these questions based on replicable research, we will be able to provide more effective vocational guidance.

References

Adkins, W. R. Life skills: structured counseling for the disadvantaged. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1970, 49, 108-116.

Krivatsy, S. Differential effects of three vocational counseling treatments. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 1974.

Nolan, J. J. The effectiveness of the Self-Directed Search compared with group counseling in promoting information-seeking behavior and realism of vocational choice (Doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 1974). Dissertation Abstracts International, 1974, 35, 195 A. (University Microfilms No. 74-16, 569)

CAREER DEVELOPMENT OF ADULTS: WHY, WHEN, WHERE, HOW*

A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, New York City, March 25, 1975 by

Elinor Waters
Director
Continuum Center for Adult Counseling
and Leadership Training
Oakland University
Rochester, Michigan 48063

INTRODUCTION

The previous papers have clearly identified the need for creative career counseling for adults. And on a more personal level I suspect most of you have at some time since you defined yourself as an adult, at least contemplated and probably made some rather dramatic career changes. If you haven't experienced it personally you've certainly known people who have. So I'm not going to really deal with the why or the when question in our program title. For me, that's simple. Why? - because adults want and need it, as career changes become more and more common and as we begin to view middle age as a time of new options rather than as a time to peak and hold on. When? whenever they want it, as people of all ages and stages can benefit from good counseling whenever they hit a time of change or of crisis. Where? In easily available locations. Outreach programs may be particularly helpful as a starting place for women who have been out of the work world for a long time and are somewhat reluctant to go to a University setting, or for senior citizens who are more comfortable trying new activities in familiar settings.

Mostly I want to concentrate on the "how" part and describe the six session career development program which the Continuum Center has developed for adults considering job changes or re-entry into the educational-vocational world.

*Many of the ideas and programs described here are the work of Sylvia Walworth, and Jane Goodman, colleagues of mine at the Continuum Center.

It postulates a cyclical rather than linear approach to career development, and is oriented to teaching processes and skills. The basic thrust of the Center's program is embodied in the familiar parable "Give me a fish and I'll eat for today. Teach me to fish and I'll eat for the rest of my life." The goal of the course is to help participants to become more self-directed in exploring and planning their careers, and to provide them with the necessary tools so that they can be self-directed.

In organizing the program, career development was broadly defined. McDaniel's (1974) view of the need for total life-style planning influenced us to encourage participants to consider their leisure as well as educational and vocational preferences. Our experience and Super's (1957) well known thesis that career decision making involves the implementation of an individual's self-concept prompted us to make self-exploration and assessment a basic component of the course. Toward that end much emphasis is given to the process of values clarification. Because the underlying goal of the course is to teach participants processes of vocational exploration and of decision making, emphasis is also placed on techniques for gathering and personalizing information. Holland's division of the world of work into six areas (Realistic, Investigative, Artistic, Social, Enterprising and Conventional) is used as a unifying classification scheme for presenting occupational information (Holland, 1966).

As a starting point in encouraging personalizing of this information we encourage clients to think about where they are with respect to Tiedeman's paradigm, that is to decide whether they are in the process of exploring alternatives or looking for ways to implement an already made decision. (Tiedeman, 1968) Clearly this affects next steps for both counselor and counselee.

Gelatt's (1962) view of decision making as a cyclical process provides a basic framework for the course. In each session participants collect information about

themselves and/or the larger world through the use of vocational interest inventories, worksheets which focus on past and present experiences or future goals and encourage assessment of individual strengths and skills, by listening to resource people or consulting educational/vocational resource materials. Participants are encouraged to assess all information gathered in terms of their values, which have to be defined and ranked as a prelude to making choices. Throughout the course participants are encouraged to make some decisions and take actions based upon these decisions. We emphasize that this decision making process is cyclical, learnable and self-directed.

CLIENTELE AND FORMAT OF THE COURSE

Before giving you details of the content of this course let me describe our clientele and the format we use. The people who come to our programs range in age from their mid 20's to their mid 50's. Most have at least some college work, with fewer having only a high school diploma and a small number having post graduate work. Generally, the participants are married with children and the family income is above $10,000 per year. However, a significant number of the female enrollees are either recently divorced or widowed and for them economic crisis may be imminent. Clearly this is also true of some of the unemployed people who may soon represent a much larger share of our clientele.

The Continuum Center offers both day and evening programs in Career Development and the clientele of these programs differs. In the day program, offered for women only, the typical participant is not currently employed. She may have both the time and the money for vocational training but faces a basic decision as to whether, and if so when, she wishes to re-enter the work world. Frequently, she is evaluating the amount of time which she feels she can be away from her family and the degree of commitment she is willing to make to her own career.

The night program, typically, serves men and women who are currently employed but dissatisfied with their work situation. Generally, these participants are deciding whether to risk a career change and may be weighing current job security and family responsibilities against their desire for a more fulfilling job or greater personal enrichment.

Although the day and night courses have different populations, both groups require a careful exploration of values and priorities as well as an appraisal of economic realities. Therefore, the basic format and thrust of these programs is the same.

Each contains six, three-hour sessions meeting on a once or twice a week basis. At the sessions, a participant spends about half of the time in the large group and the other half in small groups of 5-8 members, led by one or two trained group leaders. We have found the combination of large and small group time to be extremely helpful to our participants. The large group presentations maximize information giving and, in the small groups, participants have a chance to talk about how the ideas and information presented relate to their own particular situation. Such sharing is facilitated by the fact that the group leaders are peers of the clients - men and women who have been through a Continuum Center program as clients and then been selected and trained in counseling techniques and principles of group work. Group leaders are also given special training in how to effectively use the materials of the career development course. Prior to each session with clients group leaders meet with a professional staff member to discuss the day's agenda and the progress and problems of their clients. (For more information on the procedures for selecting and training peer counselors, see Waters, 1972.) But the groups offer much more than the realization that other people are also dissatisfied with their jobs, worried about being obsolete

or forgetting how to study. At each session participants are encouraged to make a commitment to their group as to what action steps they will take before the next meeting and report on their progress. In this way group members serve as a source of encouragement and support for each other. Often group members share the information gathering tasks and pool their resources.

COURSE CONTENT

For the most part our career development program uses standard tests and materials rather than custom-designed ones. We have adapted them to meet the needs of an adult clientele. For example, in using Holland's Self Directed Search (1970) we find it helpful for participants to use the Occupations Finder prior to taking the inventory. Their first assignment is to look through the Finder, and cross out all occupations which would be unacceptable to them, underline those occupations which they think would be interesting to them, star five occupations about which they would like more information, and write one thing which intrigues them about the starred occupations. In this way, the Finder serves as an expansion tool increasing a participant's occupational vocabulary. Additionally, the participant identifies his or her likes and dislikes, makes choices, ranks these choices, clarifies values, and begins the decision-making process again by seeking information on the five chosen occupations. Another reason for putting the Finder first is that it gives the client more control. She or he starts the process rather than just following test directions and this fits in with our overall program goal of encouraging self-direction.

Also, using the Finder first seems to minimize the anxiety felt by some adults in taking the Self-Directed Search and lessens the tendency to see only the undesirable jobs in their resultant code. This "negative selectivity" or propensity to focus on jobs they would not like to do, or are not trained to do, is lessened because they have already learned how to examine a job in terms of

its components, not just its title. Finally, for the participants who are currently employed, this use of the Finder sometimes leads to the discovery that their strong occupational preferences remain in their current employment area. They can then examine what about their present situation is creating dissatisfaction and what steps can realistically be taken to improve their situation.

After using the Finder, participants are asked to fill in the Inventory so they have an opportunity to evaluate their abilities as well as their interests.

Our course includes two other standardized instruments, the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (1974) and the Wonderlic Personnel Test (1970). In administering the SCII we emphasize that it is a test of interests, not abilities or aptitudes, and encourage participants to think of ways of using those interests avocationally as well as vocationally. The Wonderlic is used as an example of a personnel placement test, which is included for diagnostic purposes, so that participants can identify areas of strengths and weaknesses and also to provide an experience in taking a timed test which many adults, particularly those who have been out of the work world, may not have had for some time.

Values clarification is a pervasive and cumulative component of this course. Two of the exercises used are adapted from Simon et al (1972), the Forced Choice exercise and the Twenty Things You Love to Do strategy. In the forced choice exercise participants are asked to indicate whether they consider themselves to be more: a loner or a grouper, a spender or a saver, experimental or traditional, a leader or a follower, impulsive or deliberate. This exercise is included as a way to help people see that they can make decisions and that these decisions can be linked to occupations. It begins the process in a relatively non-threatening way.

In the Twenty Things exercise participants are asked to list 20 things they love to do and then to code those activities by indicating which activities they

prefer to do alone or with other people, which cost money each time you do them, which involve risk (emotional, intellectual or physical), which they usually initiate, which require planning, and which they think they would enjoy more with training. They are then asked to star the five activities which they would least like to give up, to indicate the date they last engaged in the five starred activities (a note of reality here) and to list one value which is particularly important for them in each of the starred activities. In their small groups they have an opportunity to discuss the relationship of the codes to the forced choice activity (e.g. if they identified themselves as a loner rather than a grouper did they have a preponderance of activities they preferred to do alone; if they identified themself as a leader did they list many activities which they usually initiate). They are also encouraged to discuss the value of the identified activities as they may relate to future educational or vocational goals or to current vocational or leisure time enrichment.

At other sessions participants are asked to conduct a life review - to think about things they did which really stand out as high points and to try to identify the elements in those activities which were of particular importance to them, and then to consider ways those elements can be brought into their present or future life. If I may give a personal example, as I think of my elementary school life the high spot was having the lead in the 6th grade class play. While I no longer entertain the fantasy of seeing my name on a Broadway marquee, I do find opportunities to get up in front of an audience. (Feel free to conduct a little review of your own right now.)

In addition to the standardized instruments we have developed some worksheets which encourage people to relate their values and goals to current reality factors in their life and to future goals. For example we ask them to make two "time pies" (circles in which the wedges indicate percentages of a typical day which are spent in various activities). One shows how they currently spend their time, the

other shows how they would like to spend their time. In small groups they discuss what steps they have to take to attain their desired time schedule. At a later session they are asked to think about how they would like to spend a typical day five years from now.

As resources for this course we use standard vocational/educational information, encourage participants to interview people in fields they are considering, and bring in speakers who can discuss employment trends, educational opportunities and human resource needs as well as give information on resume writing and employment interviewing. We try to select speakers with whom our clientele can identify, e.g. men and women who have made mid-life career changes.

As most of you know there is not an abundance of occupational information which is specifically geared for adults. The Catalyst Series (1973), which includes pamphlets on educational and career opportunities as well as self-guidance material, is useful for mature women who have had at least some college training and for men who can learn to live with feminine pronouns. Clearly women have had to make parallel accommodations for a long time. Bolles, "What Color is Your Parachute: A Manual for Job Changers" (1972), has some excellent suggestions for people at the professional and managerial level. Of course we use standard materials like the Occupational Outlook Handbook and the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Civil Service announcements, and the Occupational View Deck sold by Chronicle Guidance Publications, Inc. (1972).

Another technique we use is to ask everyone to find someone in a field they are considering and talk to that person about their work. The job description form we use as the basis for this interview contains a series of standard questions regarding an occupation - e.g. educational requirements, salary, necessary skills, duties performed in a typical day. Again an important factor for our participants is that they seek the information first hand, rather than

read it; they are responsible for setting up and conducting the interview. This fits in with out goal of encouraging self direction. Several action steps are involved here - the client must locate a person to interview, decide how to contact the person and when to interview him or her. This approach provides clients with the reinforcement of having taken action, the perspective gained from a site visit, an opportunity to assess the requirements for the job and make a potential future contact. For women who have been out of the job market, this visit provides an experience in talking to someone about a job, and at some level a chance to rehearse for a future job interview.

In our sessions we also include practice in mock employment or admission interviews, and build in some assertiveness training so that applicants will be able to more confidently handle difficult questions from a potential employer.

CONCLUSION

In evaluating the career development program participants generally express a high degree of satisfaction with the program, the tests and exercises used, and the steps they took. We think there are several reasons for this. First of all they have set their own goals and considered alternative ways to meet them. They have learned a decision making process and had a supportive milieu in which to practice it. These essential ingredients can be duplicated with other adult populations, while the exact agenda and format of our program clearly need not be. Depending on the institutional setting and the needs of the adult population to be served, appropriate modifications could be made. For example, we place participants in small groups because we find a supportive atmosphere is created in these small groups and because we have a number of well trained group leaders who can facilitate discussion. You might prefer to establish leaderless groups or not to include small groups and encourage open discussion in the large group.

Our groups are formed on the basis of educational level, because we have an educationally heterogeneous group and have found that problems arise when the educational levels within a group are extremely diverse. If your group is more educationally homogeneous, you may wish to group on other bases or let the participants select their own groups.

I imagine that such logistics are not the crucial issue. What seems to be important is to create an atmosphere in which it is acceptable for adults to seek help and to have some kind of a systematic approach by which counselors can deliver services to their adult clients.

You've all heard the bromide, "you can't teach an old dog new tricks," that is often used as an excuse for inaction on the part of adults. My answer is nonsense: it depends on the dog, the tricks and the teaching or counseling strategy, and that puts a lot of responsibility on us as adult counselors.

REFERENCES

Bolles, Richard N., "What Color is Your Parachute? A Practical Manual for Job-Hunters and Career-Changers," 1972, Ten Speed Press, Berkeley, California.

Catalyst, Self-Guidance Series, Education Opportunities Series, Career Opportunities Series, New York: Catalyst Publications, 1973.

Gelatt, H.B., "Decision-Making: A Conceptual Frame of Reference for Counseling," Journal of Counseling Psychology, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1962.

Holland, J.L., The Psychology of Vocational Choice, Waltham, Massachusetts, 1966.

Holland, J.L., The Self Directed Search: A Guide to Educational and Vocational Planning, Palo Alto, California: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1970.

McDaniels, C., "Leisure and Career Development," address given to the Michigan Vocational Guidance Association, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1974.

Simon, S.B.; Howe, L.W.; and Kirschenbaum, H., Values Clarification: A Handbook of Practical Strategies for Teachers and Students, New York: Hart Publishing Co., 1972.

Strong, E.K., and Campbell, D.P., Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory: Merged Form of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1974.

Super, D., et al, Vocational Development: A Framework for Research, Career Pattern Study, Monograph 1, Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1975.

Tiedeman, D.V., "Decision and Vocational Development: A Paradigm for Its Implications," in D. G. Zytowski, Vocational Behavior: Readings in Theory and Research, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1968, pp. 129-36.

Waters, E.B., "The Peer Counseling Approach to Adult Counseling," Michigan Personnel and Guidance Journal, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1972, pp. 38-41.

Wonderlic, E.F., Wonderlic Personnel Test, Northfield, Ill.: E.F. Wonderlic & Associates, Inc., 1970.

A Philogynous Proposal: Up with Women*

Mary Lou Randour
National Institute of Education

Paper presented to:

American Personnel and Guidance Association
New York Convention, March 23-26, 1975

*Special appreciation to Ann Tickamyer, who contributed her ideas, time, and support to this effort.

The views expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the National Institute of Education, or any agency of the U. S. Government.

JUL 07 1975

Part I: Separate But Equal?

Psychological Separation

There are numerous indicators that men and women live in two different worlds. In their now famous and frequently quoted study, Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1972) show that there is a remarkable agreement between professional therapists and lay people alike on the psychological traits attributable to the male and female role in our society. In brief, what men are supposed to be, women are not--independent, competent, objective, and logical. What women are supposed to be, men are not--sensitive, warm and expressive. There is a perceived clear division, with little or no overlap, of the way to be a man or a woman.

Cultural Separation

If the expectation is that the sexes differ psychologically, what does a cultural approach suggest? It has been proposed that the sexes live in two different cultures, with "distinctive group identities, adaptive patterns, and world views" (Lee and Gropper, 1974 p. 370). Some of the distinctive features of these two cultures are: 1) acculturation - males and females are socialized differently; 2) communication patterns - females and males have different

expressive styles; 3) physical gestures - characteristics differ by sex; 4) group affiliations - there is a long tradition for both formal and informal groups to separate by sex; 5) dress customs; 6) cultural artifacts - toy preference, personal ornamentation, personal effects differ; 7) roles; 8) games and avocations; and 9) competencies (Lee and Gropper, 1974).

Occupational Separation

However, the separation of women and men is never more clear or more striking than in the occupational world. There are several clear indicators of this, which include (1) the magnitude and durability of occupational segregation and (2) the characteristics of jobs that women hold.

Magnitude and Durability. The magnitude can be measured by looking at the dispersion of women in the work force by gross occupational categories and within particular occupations. In 1970, the distribution of women in non-agricultural industrial occupations places them in three occupational groups--30% are in service jobs, 21% are in blue collar operative jobs, and 33 1/3% are in white collar clerical sales jobs. Of the 14% in professional-technical jobs, 3 out of 4 are either teachers or nurses (Waldman and McEddy, 1974). What this means is that about one-half of

all women workers are in occupations which are more than 70% female (Stevenson, 1973).

And even when males and females are in the same occupational category they tend to separate by sex. In public education, women are predominantly elementary school teachers, men are high school teachers and administrators at all levels (Frazier & Sadker, 1973); female physicians tend to be pediatricians and psychiatrists; women architects go into residential design and women engineers into industrial engineering, while female lawyers concentrate in trusts and estate, real estate and domestic relations (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972).

To understand this phenomena in more precise terms, an exact measurement of sexual division within the world of work was developed by Gross, who devised an Index of Segregation. This index, expressed in percentage points, shows the percentage of women who would need to change occupations in order for the female to male ratio in each occupation to resemble the female to male ratio in the work force in general (Stevenson, 1973). In 1960, the Index of Segregation was 68.4% (Ferriss, 1971, p. 115). That means that 68.4% of working women would have to change their jobs in order for the male/female ratio in occupations to be the same as the ratio in the labor force.

But the durability of occupational segregation is as important an indicator of its strength as is its magnitude. The distribution of women into three major occupational groups remains unchanged since 1940. That most women are in occupations that are 70% female has been a fact since 1900. And the Index of Segregation has not decreased since 1900, but increased 1½ percentage points (Ferriss, 1971).

The expression "we've come a long way baby" is not only hackneyed, but inaccurate.

Characteristics. The jobs that women hold often have certain characteristics that are peculiar to those jobs, and that make them distinct from the jobs men hold. For example, women are concentrated in jobs that require (1) traditional housewives tasks; (2) few or no physical activity or hazards; (3) patience and routine; (4) rapid use of hands and fingers; (5) a cultural orientation; (6) contact with young children; or (7) sex appeal (Wilensky, 1968).

These characteristics do not require an instrumental, acting out mode of behavior, but rather an expressive and receptive style. Bernard (1971) aptly describes this female style as performing a "stroking function...(which) can be traced...throughout the social structure, in the

family, at work, at play, and in social life generally" (p. 89-90). The stroking function helps, supports, understands, and agrees. It encourages and rewards. In short, it makes the recipient feel comforted and more important.

Results. A major result of occupational segregation is lower wages for women. In order to explain how this operates, economists discuss the concept of the "crowding hypothesis" which "argues that the major reason for the low wages of women workers is that they are crowded into a limited number of occupations, and virtually denied access to all other occupations" (Stevenson, 1973, p. 89). Because of this crowding, the competitive pool for an occupation is inflated, thereby deflating the pay. Occupations open to men have the possible competitive pool for an occupation artificially deflated thereby increasing salaries.

The facts of lower wages for women are as follows. In 1972, the full time average woman worker earned only 58% as much as her male counterpart (Sawhill, 1974, p. 1). It could be argued that this figure is overly pessimistic as well as inaccurate since the gap between wages may be attributable to a different work background for women.

However, when work experience, education, and job status are taken into account, women still only earn 62% as much as their male counterpart (Suter, 1973).

One last example. It is June, 1970, and you are a female college graduate with a major in accounting. You can expect to start at a salary of $746/month. If you are male, however, you can expect to start at a salary of $832/month. And, if your field was chemistry, economics, engineering, liberal arts, or mathematics, the results are the same--you can expect less pay from your entry level job if you are female (Kreps, 1971).

Implications. Lower wages for working women affect 35,000,000 workers or almost 40% of the work force (Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, 1974). Most of these 35,000,000 women workers are working for the same reasons men do--because they must. For example, 60% of working women are widowed, divorced, separated, single, or their husbands earn less than $7,000 a year (Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, 1973).

Changes in the American family's profile indicate that more women will probably be working in the future because of necessity or from choice. The divorces and births outside of marriage, and the number of single women is increasing. In 1960, there were 35 divorced persons to every 1,000 married persons. By 1974, that figure almost doubled to

63 per 1,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974). The rate of births to unmarried women has increased steadily since 1940 (Ferriss, 1971). And the number of single women has increased dramatically, most notably in the 14-35 age bracket, which is a time when women and men traditionally have married. Whether this trend portends a commitment to singleness or a delay in first marriages is unclear (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1974).

All of the above statistics suggest that more women will be working due to necessity; but more also may be working in the future by choice. There is a gradual trend to marry later (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974), and when married, to have fewer children (Ferriss, 1971). Diminished child care responsibilities will allow more women to participate in the occupational world and to have longer occupational lives.

In summary, women occupy a segregated position in the world of work that confines them to a narrow range of occupations. The result of this restriction is lower pay and status for working women. At the same time, the changing profile of the American family suggests that more women will need to support themselves and/or their families than ever before and more women will be able to work.

However, our vision must broaden beyond counseling approaches, materials, and programs because the most skilled individual efforts and the most brilliant programs cannot change the institutional structure in which the client moves. It is unrealistic to expect, or hope, that an individual client can make effective use of career counseling when faced with the same institutional barriers that existed before counseling.

Any proposed strategy should, then, seek structural change, and in doing so eliminate current barriers to women's reentry into education and work. Before this strategy is described, let us briefly examine some of these barriers.

Child Care Facilities. The lack of sound and enriching child care facilities is certainly a major handicap to women's entry and reentry into the market place. In 1970, 52% of the women in the labor force had children from 6-17 years of age; 32% had children under 6 (Schultze, Fried, Rivlin and Tieters, 1972, p. 256). Yet very few working mothers use day care centers. In 1970, 10.5% of children under 6 of working mothers were in day care centers and less than 1% of children between the ages of 6-14 were (Schultze, et.al., 1972, p. 261).

In-depth questioning of working mothers shows that they have a variety of concerns about their child care arrangements. They worry about the safety of their children, the difficulty of making satisfactory arrangements for children under 3, about transporting them to distant locations for care, inflexible hours of centers, what to do with a mildy ill child, and cost of care (Schultze, et.al., 1972). Although child care is of paramount importance to working mothers, the automatic answer does not necessarily reside in more day care centers. Child care can refer to all forms of group care, including creches, infant day care centers, nurseries, kindergartens, day care centers, child development programs, family day care and care of children in private homes when it is partially or fully financed by a governmental or private organization's program. More study and thought must be given before policy is formulated on group child care (Roby, 1973). What is evident, though, is that attention to this problem is needed for millions of working mothers, and even more children.

Part-time Work. During the past 10 years the rate of increase of part-time employment for adult women has increased dramatically (Greenwald, 1974). It is a safe assumption that the rate would be even larger if there were more part-time jobs available.

However, not only are part-time jobs hard to find, and limited to few occupations, but they do not provide the same benefits--pay, holidays, insurance--as full time work. Carol Greenwald, a mother, part-time worker, and Assistant Vice President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston notes:

> The most pressing research need is to show that a variety of jobs can be handled successfully on a part-time or flexible hours basis and that there are real, measurable benefits to firms, which more than offset any administrative inconvenience. (1974, p.3.)

Tax Law. Costs of producing income are deductible--salespersons may deduct their car and entertainment expenses, painters their brushes, and employers their employees. Another cost of producing income--child care--has deductions based on family income, which is a limitation other beneficiaries of this deduction do not encounter. This allowable child care deduction is not helpful, because to claim it requires itemizing tax returns, something low income people do not do. For example, the amount of child care a poor family could afford does not get them above the standard deduction. And for a family in which the man earned $20,000 and the woman $10,000, the economic benefits to the woman, after all deductions and expenses are taken into account,

amounts to $46.18 a week or $1.15 an hour (Cohen, 1975).

Low Wages/Occupational Segregation. There will be little incentive for women to work, for those who have a choice, if occupations open to women are of low pay and prestige. Low wages place an unfair burden on those who must, or want, to work.

A Philogynous Proposal. I have a philogynous proposal to make that will be presented by way of an analogy.

Educational benefits under the G.I. Bill are awarded to those who have served their country. By either enlisting or being drafted (at one time) into the service, young men and some women, interrupted their educational and occupational careers. For this sacrifice, and for the service to their country, they may be rewarded with money for schooling needs, veterans preference points under Federal Civil Service, financing assistance when buying a home, and other preferential treatment in hiring and school admissions' policies.

The value placed on this service by society is clearly and concretely demonstrated.

Spokespeople for societal values stress the importance of another type of service performed by a group of people. These people also interrupt their educational and occupational careers. Some enlist, most are drafted. They raise children. But the value placed by society for this service is less clear. A lot of lip service is given to the importance of child rearing, but little else. To the contrary, those who stay home to raise their children--and they are usually women--are penalized. This experience is not counted when job experiences are enumerated, and loss of continuous employment depresses and imperils tenure and promotional possibilities.

It may be appropriate to reward those who interrupt their education and occupational lives to protect their country. But surely the service rendered by mothers, whose sacrifice and contribution to social welfare is as great, also should be rewarded in as tangible a way as G.I.'s are.

My philogynous proposal is this: Women, or men, who have interrupted their education or work in order to raise their children would be eligible to collect education benefits, as G.I.,'s are, for entry and reentry into education.

This entitlement would allow millions of women, who returned to dead-end low paying jobs after raising their children, the opportunity to obtain training for more productive and satisfying work. Other women may not resume work because it would not be economically profitable considering their potential earning power, and yet they could not afford to return to school to better place themselves. These women would be able to afford to return to school for career preparation, too.

Another possible effect of this entitlement, since its reward does not depend on gender, might be to encourage men to assume child rearing responsibilities. If child rearing had a financial reward men may be motivated to assume this role more often for two reasons: (1) it would provide money to those who would like to return to school, but cannot afford it, and (2) the value and attractiveness of a task is often enhanced when there is financial reward.

But mostly this entitlement would put our collective money where our societal mouth is. If raising children is really important, then society should demonstrate its appreciation to those who do this in a tangible way.

Some points to be discussed are: Who would be eligible? How long would benefits last? How much would they be? What type of educational programs would be covered? How would it be financed? What would be the cost? Let me suggest some first thought possibilities.

Who would be eligible? Purists might suggest that every person who has stayed home to raise a child should be eligible. While this notion may be idealistically appealing, it is unrealistic in an economic sense. In 1974, there were 51,478,000 women between the ages of 15-49, which would represent the pool of eligible applicants (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Personal Communication, March, 1975). Obviously, other criteria for the entitlement would have to be used. One suggestion would be to limit it to the child rearer in families that have incomes of less than $10,000. There are 33,000,000 women in families with incomes of less than $10,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Personal Communication, March, 1975). This figure would be reduced, since some of those women are past the child bearing years, and others will never have children. Let us roughly estimate then that the number of possible applicants would now be 25,000,000. Not every eligible applicant, however, will apply. In FY'74, 2.4 million people received educational benefits under the

G.I. Bill out of a possible 9.7 million who were eligible, or 28% of all possible eligible people collected (Veterans Administration, Personal Communication, March, 1975). If one-third of the possible applicants for educational benefits under this proposed entitlement collected, the total number receiving benefits would be 8,000,000. Further study and refinement obviously is needed, but this figure at least gives us an estimate to use as we further investigate the implications of this idea.

How long would benefits last? Guidelines used for receiving the educational benefits under the G.I. Bill seem fair and could apply here. Therefore, benefits could be collected for a maximum of 36-45 months.

How much would they be? The amount of educational benefits under the G.I. Bill are $270/month if there are no dependents, $321/month with one dependent, $366/month with two dependents, and after that, $22/month for each additional dependent (Veterans Administration, Personal Communication, March, 1975). The figure of 320/month could be taken as a middle range figure with which to work.

What types of educational programs would be covered? Again, the criteria used for receiving educational benefits under the G.I. Bill seem appropriate to use here, at least as a first cut. This means that those who receive specific skill training, or go into vocational programs would receive them as well as those who enter colleges.

How would it be financed? A system of state and Federal funding, drawn from public monies would be used. An additional funding source could be those financially successful graduates of this program who may be required to pay back a certain amount at no interest and over a long term.

What would be the cost? Using a figure of $320/month per person, and figuring that 8 million people would use these benefits for nine months, would produce an annual budget of $23 billion.

Obviously costly this proposal could very well be ill timed, since the pressure is now to reduce government spending. But the underlying point of the proposal remains: tasks assigned to, and performed by, women in our society are not, but should be, rewarded in as tangible a way as others are. Perhaps our

government cannot afford a new multibillion dollar program. Not all structural rewards must be money, however. At the individual, local, state or federal institional level, policies could include the awarding of points in hiring and/or school admissions to those who interrupted their educational or occupational careers to rear children. Or child raising and community work experiences could be credited as other work experiences are for hiring and promotion considerations.

Even if the merit of the proposal is missed, I hope its intent is not: institutional barriers to women's entry and reentry into education and work must be enumerated, examined, and eliminated.

REFERENCES

Bernard, J. Women and the Public Interest. Chicago: Aldine/Atherton, 1971.

Broverman, I., Vogel, S. R., Broverman, D. M., Clarkson, F. E., Rosenkrantz, P.S. Sex Role Stereotypes: A Current Appraisal. The Journal of Social Issues, 1972, 28(2), 59-78.

Cohen, R. M. The High Cost of a Second Income. The Washington Post, March 3, 1974.

Ferriss, A. L. Indicators of Trends in the Status of American Women. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971.

Frazier, N & Sadker, M. Sexism in School and Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Greenwald, C. S. Part-time work and flexible hours employment. Paper presented at the Workshop on Research Needed to Improve the Employment and Employability of Women, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., June, 1974.

Hedges, J. N. & Bemis, S. E. Sex Stereotyping: Its Decline in the Skilled Trades. Monthly Labor Review, 1974, 97 (5), 14-22.

Kreps, J. Sex in the Marketplace: American Women at Work. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.

Lee, P. C. & Gropper, N. B. Sex Role Culture and Educational Practice. Harvard Educational Review, 1974, 44, 369-410.

Roby, P. Child Care - What and Why? In P. Roby (Ed.), Child Care - Who Cares. New York: Basic Books. 1973.

Safilios-Rothschild, C. Toward A Sociology of Women. Lexington, Massachusetts: Xerox College Publishing, 1972.

Sawhill, I. V. The earnings gap: Research needs and issues. Paper presented at the Workshop on Research Needed to Improve the Employment and Employability of Women, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., June, 1974.

Schultze, C. L., Fried, E. R., Rivlin, A. M., Teeters, N. H. Setting National Priorities: The 1973 budget. Washington, D. C: The Brookings Institution, 1972.

Stevenson, M. Women's Wages and Job Segregation. Politics and Society, 1973, 4(1), 83-95.

Suter, L. E. & Miller, H. P. Income Differences Between Men and Career Women. American Journal of Sociology, 1973, 78(4), 962-974.

U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports. Series p.-20, No. 271, "Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1974," U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Waldman, E. & McEaddy, B. J. Where Women Work: An Analysis by Industry and Occupation. Monthly Labor Review, 1974, 97(5), 3-13.

Wilensky, H. Women's Work: Economic Growth, Ideology, Structure. Industrial Relations, 1968, 7(3).

Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. Handbook on Women Workers, Washington, D.C., 1973.

Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. Handbook on Women's Employment and Education, Washington, D.C., 1974.